

## CHAPTER I

# THE SELEUCID PERIOD

### INTRODUCTION

Our knowledge of Seleucid Iran is unfortunately meagre. The scanty sources mostly record occurrences such as military campaigns, royal accessions and the like, and hardly give any information on economic or social matters. Even the isolated facts we speak of are almost all Greek; in Seleucid Iran, as we know it, the Iranians are not seen or heard. The reasons for these deficiencies are historical.

Memory is selective; succeeding generations remember what is relevant to their own life and forget the rest: "Let the dead bury their dead."<sup>1</sup> After the Romans had ended Seleucid rule in Syria in 63 B.C., nobody cared any longer for the defunct dynasty. Sycophants and historians alike now turned to the Caesars. The only extant Greek outline of Seleucid history is appended to the narrative of the Roman conquest of Syria in Appian's "History of Rome", compiled in the 2nd century A.D.

As for the Iranians, they lost the memory of their remote past. Whereas after the Arab conquest the Zoroastrian priests and native gentry endeavoured to keep alive the Persian tradition and to preserve religious writings and the glory of the Sasanians,<sup>2</sup> the pre-Sasanian past receded into the realm of fable, and Alexander himself became "the king of Rūm", that is, of Byzantium. When Bīrūnī collected (c. A.D. 1000) "The Vestiges of Past Generations" (*al-Āthār al-bāqiya*), he learned of Cyrus only from Jewish (Christian) sources, where the founder of the Persian monarchy was remembered as a friend of the Chosen People.<sup>3</sup>

Contemporary records of the Seleucid period in Iran had been written on perishable materials (papyrus, leather, wood) and thus did not survive. Only a few Greek inscriptions on stone, mostly from Susa, have been recovered as yet, and the excavation of Seleucid sites, except in Susa, has hardly begun. Thus, the present account can only mark the limits of our ignorance.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. E. J. Bickerman, "La Chaîne de la tradition pharisienne", *Revue Biblique* LIX (Paris 1952), pp. 44ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Boyce, *Letter of Tansar*, p. 37; Nöldeke, *Tabarī*, 440.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. E. Yarshater, "List of Achaemenid Kings in Biruni and Bar Hebraeus", in E. Yarshater (ed.), *Biruni Symposium* (Columbia University, New York, 1976), pp. 49-65.

## THE SELEUCID PERIOD

### POLITICAL HISTORY

After Alexander's death in 323 B.C., his generals divided the empire and for more than thirty years fought one another for a larger portion of Alexander's heritage. One of these warlords was Seleucus, who on Alexander's order had married Apame, daughter of the Sogdian satrap Spitamenes, in 324 B.C. The Seleucid dynasty sprang from this Macedonian-Iranian union. In 312, Seleucus succeeded in establishing his dominion in Babylon. Very shortly, he extended it to Media, Susiana, "and the neighbouring countries".<sup>1</sup> His enemy Antigonus ruled over Asia Minor, but was unable to dislodge Seleucus who in 306 or 305 took the royal title for himself. By 303, Seleucus had reconstituted Alexander's empire from the Euphrates to the Indian Ocean, except for the lands along the Indus which he had to cede to Sandracottas (Chandragupta), the founder of the Maurya dynasty in Northern India. Seleucus' capital was established at Seleucia on the Tigris (in the vicinity of Babylon), founded by him about 305.<sup>2</sup> In 301, Seleucus and his ally Lysimachus of Thracia defeated Antigonus and Seleucus obtained North Syria as his prize.

At this juncture, Seleucus made a decision which changed the course of Iranian history. The Persian kings from Susa and Ecbatana (Hama-dān) reigned over the realm which bordered both the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean. In Seleucia, Seleucus was still on the fringe of Iran. But in 300 B.C. he transferred his headquarters to the newly founded Antioch on the lower Orontes, in North Syria. His new capital was eccentric to the land mass over which he ruled – "from India to the Syrian coast".<sup>3</sup> Now, over 1,700 miles (as the crow flies) separated him from his posts on the Jaxartes (Syr Darya). But he, and his dynasty, had no choice.

They knew that they, as Alexander before them, did not win by force of numbers, "but by skill and intelligence".<sup>4</sup> They would be unable to govern and exploit their immense domain without a steady intake of men and ideas from Greece. The tract on which Seleucus I built his Syrian capital had been neglected by Phoenician mariners since it offered no safe anchorage. Seleucus' Greek engineers created two artificial harbours (Seleucia and Laodicea) to serve the new

<sup>1</sup> Diodorus xix. 92. 5.

<sup>2</sup> N. M. Waggoner, "The early Alexander coinage of Seleucia on the Tigris", *ANSMN* xv (1969), p. 30.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 32. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Diodorus xix. 90. 3.

capital.<sup>1</sup> The life line of the Seleucid power was tied to the short coastal strip between the Gulf of Alexandretta and Beirut.

The choice of Antioch as capital necessarily weakened the royal authority in far-distant Iran, just as the command of the Achaemenians was wanting in strength on the Mediterranean coast. Yet it was not the Iranians, but the Macedonian generals in Iran who took advantage of their absent master for contriving separatist movements. The first defection occurred on the sensitive north-eastern frontier, between the Caspian Sea and the Hindu Kush. Here, in the Seleucid province of Bactria, in northern Khurāsān and the lands north of the Jaxartes (Syr Darya), Macedonian troops and Iranian chieftains were united by the necessity to hang together or be hanged separately. The invasion of the hungry nomads who roamed over "a vast plain stretching out interminably"<sup>2</sup> in Central Asia would have destroyed the Greek colonies and dispossessed the khans and their tribes. From the Saljuqs (c. A.D. 1000) to the Qājārs (1794–1925), almost all the shāhs of Persia, with perhaps the exception of the Ṣafavids, were intruders from Turkestan or their descendants.

About 280 B.C., the nomads from the north succeeded in penetrating the Seleucid territory as far as Tirmidh and Herāt. They were expelled by Antiochus I, son and successor to Seleucus I, who also restored the ravaged cities. For instance, he rebuilt the citadel of Marv and raised a rampart of beaten earth and brick (up to 20 metres high and about 270 km. long) which surrounded the Marv oasis.<sup>3</sup>

But the wars in the west, particularly with Egypt (280–72 and 260–53), fought over the defence or the expansion of the sea-front of the empire, strained the resources of the west and made the court of Antioch demand more and more help from the provinces of the east. In 273, for instance, the satrap of Bactria had to send 20 elephants for the war against Egypt and thus weakened the defence of his satrapy against the nomadic hordes. Following the death of Antiochus II in 246, a dynastic war broke out in the west between Laodice, the divorced wife of Antiochus II, and Berenice, his widow, who was supported by her brother, Ptolemy III of Egypt. The army in Bactria, led by its

<sup>1</sup> H. Seyrig, "Antiquités Syriennes 92", *Syria* XLVII (1970), p. 305.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus I. 204.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo XI. 10. 2 (C516); cf. S. A. Viyazigin, "Stena Antiokha Sotera vokrug drevnei Marigiany", *Trudy Južno-Turkmenistanskoy archeologičeskoj kompleksnoj ekspedicii* 1 (Ashkabad, 1949), pp. 260–75; M. E. Masson, *ibid.* XII (Ashkabad, 1963), pp. 9, 14; B. A. Litvinski, "Drevni sredneasiatski gorod", in *Drevni Vostok Goroda i Torogovlya* (Erevan, 1973), p. 113.

general Diodotus, forsook the House of Seleucus, which was now divided against itself; they thought that they could do without further help from the court at Antioch.<sup>1</sup> This reasoning proved right. The Greek kings of Bactria, whose riches amazed contemporary observers, defended their territory against the nomads for about 130 years, and “subdued more peoples than Alexander”, particularly in India.<sup>2</sup> When Andragoras, the Seleucid satrap of Parthia (roughly western Khurāsān), also revolted, and his province was overrun by the nomadic tribe of Parni led by Arsaces, the Greek kings of Bactria and the Seleucid court, in unspoken or agreed collaboration, succeeded in blocking the expansion of the Arsacids. For some eighty years the Arsacids of Parthia remained local dynasts who were continually embroiled in wars with their neighbours.<sup>3</sup>

The court of Antioch repeatedly tried to regain the lost Far East. Again and again new conflicts or dynastic struggles in the west compelled the Seleucid kings to break off successful oriental campaigns and go back to Syria. Antiochus III alone succeeded in re-establishing his authority, albeit nominally, over Bactria and the Far East (209–5). He won the title of the “Great King”,<sup>4</sup> and the eastern booty allowed him to defeat Egypt and to acquire Palestine and Phoenicia in 200 B.C. But soon he became involved in a war with Rome, lost it in 189, and had to surrender western Asia Minor. All that he had recovered in the east was soon lost again. Yet, western Iran, from Ecbatana to the Persian Gulf, remained loyal, though in 223, and again in 162, the Macedonian generals in Media grasped at the royal diadem. New dynastic struggles in Syria, however, delivered Media, some time after 148 B.C., and Babylonia, in 141 B.C., to the Parthians.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, Greek cities, as well as the Iranians in Media and Persia, sided with the Seleucids. Demetrius II set out to Media in answer to an appeal from Greek colonists in hope that if he were successful in the east he would be able to drive out his rival, Tryphon, from Syria. He found much support, but was captured by the Parthians in 139.<sup>6</sup> His brother Antiochus VII succeeded in recovering Babylonia and Media, but fell

<sup>1</sup> Apollodorus of Artemita in Strabo xi. 11. 1 (C516); xv. 1. 3 (C686); on chronology, cf. A. R. Bellinger, “The coins from the treasure of the Oxus”, *ANSMN* x (1962), p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> Apollodorus of Artemita in Strabo xi. 11. 1 (C516).

<sup>3</sup> Strabo xi. 8. 3 (C511). On Andragoras, cf. L. Robert, “Inscription hellénistique de l’Iran”, *Hellenica* xi–xii (1960), pp. 85–91; Le Rider, *Suse*, p. 30.

<sup>4</sup> L. Robert, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes* (Paris, 1964), p. 19.

<sup>5</sup> L. Robert, *Gnomon* xxxv (1963), p. 76. Cf. Mørkholm, *Antiochus IV of Syria*, pp. 110–14.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. O. Mørkholm, “A Greek Coin Hoard from Susiana”, *Acta Archaeologica* xxxvi (Copenhagen, 1965), p. 136.

## POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

in a skirmish in 129 B.C. Thus Seleucid rule over Iran was ended once and for all.

Iran was lost to the Seleucids not at the 'Syr Darya, but in Antioch, by the Court which always took the loyalty of "Oriental Barbary" for granted and wasted the resources of the empire in futile wars and dynastic squabbles.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, the Seleucid dominion over Iran lasted for 183 years (312–129 B.C.). How could a line of alien condottieri at Antioch, separated by distance, race, language, religion and mode of life, last so long in the land of the Achaemenians and the Sasanians? To answer this question, we must consider the political organization and the internal structure of Seleucid Iran.

## POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The Achaemenians proclaimed that they were Persians, and received the realm from the supreme god Ahuramazda. Later the Sasanian clergy taught that the kingdom and the (true) religion were twins.<sup>2</sup> The Seleucids were of Macedonian stock, but they neither ruled over Macedonia nor had any authority over Macedonians abroad,<sup>3</sup> and they commanded peoples not "by the grace of God", but by the right of the spear. They were neither native rulers, nor the instruments of a "colonial" power, but just lucky condottieri. Their power was not institutional but personal. In the battle against Molon, a rebellious general, the latter's troops went over to Antiochus III as soon as they saw their legitimate sovereign, but the other wing of Molon, not seeing the king in person, fought stubbornly against the king's regiments. In fact, the Seleucid Ship of State was not anchored in the heavens, but moored to the mutual "good will" (*eunoia*) between the ruler and the ruled.<sup>4</sup> Antiochus I recovered the dominion of Seleucus I, his father, "by his valour as well as by the good will of his 'friends' and his troops". In turn, the ruler had to "win over" his subjects by his own *eunoia*. It was not a constitutional arrangement, but a political necessity. The diademed condottiere was isolated; he could not even rely on his tribe (as for instance, the Saljuqs did), since he had none. His "friends", that is, his court, from which he had to choose his

<sup>1</sup> Justin XII. 3. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Boyce, *Letter of Tansar*, p. 33; "The Testament of Ardashir" in S. Shaked, "Esoteric trends in Zoroastrianism", *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* III (Jerusalem, 1969), pp. 214–19.

<sup>3</sup> Musti, "Lo Stato dei Seleucidi", p. 87.

<sup>4</sup> Inscription of Ilion in Rostovtzeff I, p. 431; cf. e.g. Polybius v. 46. 8; 50. 7; VIII. 23. 5.

generals and ministers, were an international lot, mostly men as uprooted as their master and who were attached to him personally by his bounties and their fellow-feeling. An Acarnian, a former "friend" of the king of Macedonia, passed to "the more opulent court of Antiochus [III]", and became his adviser.<sup>1</sup>

The king's army, his administration, his colonies and the Greek cities in Iran were no less international; Macedonians, Thessalians, other Greeks and various non-native elements were partners in exploiting the Orient and were as isolated in the immense alien country as the king himself. They all had to sink or to swim together. This was the real meaning of the mutual "good will" of which we have just spoken.

The administrative organization of the realm was simple in principle, but complex in practice. Alexander and the Seleucids preserved the Persian division of the empire into enormous satrapies. The Iranian satrapies were placed under a viceroy, "one [who is] over the upper satrapies", who resided in Ecbatana. The satrap was above all the general commanding the troops in his province. The satrapy was divided into districts, called "places" (*topoi*). But such a district could be a Greek city, a military ward (*phylake*), or a group of native villages.<sup>2</sup>

A network of Greek military settlements and cities covered Iran from the Syr Darya to the Persian Gulf, and kept the realm together.<sup>3</sup> A colony was generally established on the royal land, and on an easily defensible site. For instance, at Ai Khanum, on the Amu Darya (Oxus), the colony was protected on two sides by rivers, and on the third side by a hill which became its citadel.<sup>4</sup> Colonists received land lots which were encumbered with the obligation of military service. A Greek city (*polis*) was formally autonomous, though in fact controlled by the royal overseer (*epistates*); it had its own territory which made it more or less self-sufficient economically. Thus, the classical traditions of the Greek polis continued in the Orient: the landowners lived in the city

<sup>1</sup> Livy xxxv. 18. 1.

<sup>2</sup> L. Robert, "Inscription honorifique à Laodicée d'Iran (Nehavend)", *Hellenica* VIII (1950), p. 73; *Id.* "Encore une inscription Grecque de l'Iran", *CRAI* 1967, p. 281. The Seleucids seem to have abandoned the Persian system of sub-satrapies, on which cf. W. B. Henning, "Ein persischer Titel im Altaramaeischen" in M. Black and G. Fohrer (eds), *In memoriam Paul Kahle* (Berlin, 1968), p. 144 (Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, CIII).

<sup>3</sup> [On the administration of the Greek cities in Iran see also pp. 713ff. and pp. 822ff.]

<sup>4</sup> D. Schlumberger and P. Bernard, "Ai Khanoum", *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* LXXXIX (Athens-Paris, 1965), pp. 590-602; P. Bernard, "Ai Khanum on the Oxus", *Proceedings of British Academy* LIII (1967), pp. 71-95.



and not in the open country, though, of course, they could have luxurious manor houses, furnished with baths, outside the city walls.<sup>1</sup> The walls made the city impregnable, except for a regular army, and the city militia could be relied upon to keep in check the unruly natives on her territory.<sup>2</sup> Thus, Media was ringed with Greek settlements as defence against the neighbouring peoples.<sup>3</sup> It is noteworthy, though inexplicable, that none of the Greek cities in Iran received the privilege of (copper) coinage which was conceded by the kings to several cities in Syria, and also to Nisibis and Edessa in Upper Mesopotamia.

The internal organization of the Greek city in Iran remains obscure. We hear of traditional magistrates (*archonts*) and such, but we do not know whether, for instance, there was a native quarter, or whether artisans of the same craft worked on the same street, as, it seems, was the case in some Greek cities under Parthian rule.<sup>4</sup> But how was town life in Iranian Iran?<sup>5</sup> Were Iranian towns essentially administrative centres with a citadel for the governor and his guard? Can we distinguish between a "town" and a walled "village"?<sup>6</sup> What was the function of the latter? How widespread was the type of a big house inhabited by a large patriarchal family? The Sasanian legal texts still speak of the large agnatic groups with a common ancestral worship

<sup>1</sup> Bernard, "Fouilles de Ai Khanoum", *CRAI* 1974, pp. 280-5.

<sup>2</sup> [On the organization of Seleucid cities in Iran, see also pages 821-6].

<sup>3</sup> Polybius x. 27. 3.

<sup>4</sup> M. Rostovtzeff, *Dura-Europos and its art* (Oxford, 1938), p. 47; G. Pugachenkova, *Iskustvo Turkmenistana* (Moscow, 1967), p. 30; L. Waterman, *Second Preliminary Report upon the Excavations at Tell Umar, Iraq* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1933), p. 6. In fact the excavations only reveal stalls on the street side of houses; whether these shops formed a *sūq*, as Rostovtzeff says, we cannot know. Cf. also L. Robert, "Épigraphie greque," *Annuaire: École pratique des Hautes Études, IV<sup>e</sup> section* 1968/1969, p. 168, and B. A. Litvinski and Ch. Muchitdinov, "Antichnoe gorodische Saksanochur", *Sovetskaya Archeologiya* 1969. 2, pp. 161-6.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. B. A. Litvinski, "Drevni sredneasiatski gorod" in *Drevni Vostok Goroda i Torgovlya* (Erevan, 1973), pp. 99-125 and I. V. Pyankov, on the central Asian cities of the Achaemenian period according to Greek and Latin authors, in *ibid.*, pp. 125-35.

<sup>6</sup> Strabo xi. 11. 3 (C517). Soviet excavations in Central Asia revealed the existence of large settlements, generally unwalled, around a citadel; V. M. Masson, "I monumenti archeologici dell'Asia centrale" in *Persia e il mondo greco-romano*, pp. 358-81. For Iran proper cf. U. Scerrato, "L'edificio sacro di Dahan-i Ghulaman (Sistan)", *ibid.*, pp. 457-70 and *Id.* "Excavations at Dahan-i Ghulaman", *East and West* xvi (Rome, 1966), pp. 9-30. Polybius x. 31. 5 mentions an "unwalled city", named Tambarka in Media, that had a "palace" (*basileion*), that is, probably, a fortified residence of the governor. Cf. B. A. Litvinski and Ch. Muchitdinov, "Antichnoe gorodische Saksanochur", pp. 160-78. A. Z. Rosenfeld, "Qal'a (Kala)-tip ukreplennavo poseleniya" *Sovetskaya Etnografiya* 1951. 1, pp. 22-38; A. B. Gudkova, *Top-Kala* (Tashkent, 1964); V. M. Masson (ed.), *Drevnyaya Baktriya* (Leningrad, 1974), pp. 3-13. On the streets of artisans at Marv see G. A. Pugachenkova, *Puti razvitiya architektury Turkmenii* (Ashkabad, 1958), p. 41.

and a certain legal and economic unity.<sup>1</sup> What happened to the tribal system under the Seleucids? To mention another problem: from Crassus' defeat at Carrhae until Julian the Apostate, at least, Persian arrows checked the advance of Roman legions. The bowmen were clients of great landlords who, on occasion, became more or less independent rulers.<sup>2</sup> What was the situation and the power of these Iranian lords under Seleucid rule? Did they live in their castles or did they go to the towns? We can only hope that new discoveries may illuminate these forgotten pages of the Iranian past.

In the last resort, the power of the Seleucids rested on force, that is on the army; the king first and last was a victorious captain. Of fourteen Seleucids who reigned between 312 and 129 B.C. only two died in bed. Two infant kings were murdered. Ten kings died on campaign. The backbone of the army was the phalanx of heavy infantry recruited among the Macedonian colonists and supported by heavy cavalry. The Seleucids could throw as many as 72,000 men into battle. Only a small part of them came from Iran: c. 12,000 out of 68,000 at Raphia in 217 B.C. The Iranians served as light infantry, and mostly came from the "wild" tribes, such as the Cissii who held travellers to ransom on the way from Susa to Ecbatana.

Why did the Seleucids neglect men from Persia proper (Fārs), reputed to be the best soldiers in Iran,<sup>3</sup> and the splendid Iranian horse which was the mainstay of the Greek kings of Bactria? An explanation may perhaps be found in the following. Alexander began to drill an army of Iranians – and modern scholars praise him for this expression of universal brotherhood; and because he was king of Macedonia, he would have been able to keep his soldiers in check. But the Seleucids had no nation behind them; an Iranian army, necessarily recruited and commanded by native chieftains, would have delivered the fate of the dynasty to the caprice and interest of native potentates. History confirmed the judgement of the Seleucids. The army of the Arsacids, their Parthian successors in Iran, essentially consisted of a retinue of great lords who naturally became royal governors and masters of their respective fiefs. To mobilize his host, the Parthian king had to appeal to his satraps.

<sup>1</sup> R. Ghirshman, *Village perso-achéménide* (Paris, 1954), p. 6 (Mémoires de la Mission archéologique en Iran xxxvi); B. N. Pilipko in V. M. Masson (ed.), *Karakumskie Drevnosti II* (Ashkabad, 1968), pp. 36–9. On the agnatic family, see A. G. Perikhanian, "Agnatic groups in ancient Iran", *VDI* 1968. 3, pp. 28–53; cf. G. A. Paguchenkova, "Bactrian house", in *Istoriya i kultura narodov srednei Asii* (Moscow, 1976), pp. 38–42; and below pp. 641 ff. <sup>2</sup> Julian, *Caesars*, 324 d. <sup>3</sup> Diodorus XIX. 21. 3; cf. Boyce, p. 27.



## POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The financial organization of Seleucid Iran remains almost unknown. We know the titles of some tax officials, but do not know anything about the actual taxation. Seleucid coins show, however, that the monetary system was uniform throughout the Empire. Only the royal coin was legal tender; foreign silver circulated as bullion. The essential unit was the silver piece of four drachms, that is about 17 grams weight. There were several mints in Iran, and each of them had a considerable autonomy in the choice of types and legends of coins.

As the Seleucid standard was identical with the Attic standard which was followed in the greater part of the Hellenistic world, the trade from the Indian Ocean to the Adriatic Sea was based on the same monetary system. On the other hand, the Ptolemies of Egypt used a different standard (a four drachm piece of c. 14.4 grams), and this meant the economic division of the Hellenistic world into two monetary blocks.

The unified silver coinage (which had been lacking in the Achaemenid Empire), was a boon to traders. The Seleucids generally encouraged agriculture and commerce, two abundant sources of revenue. For instance, they, as the Achaemenians before them, granted hereditary possession of empty land to the farmer who planted trees on it.<sup>1</sup> They improved roads and harbours; a crossing on the Āmū Daryā near Tirmidh continued to be used for centuries after the end of the Greek domination in Iran.<sup>2</sup> By canalizing the river Eulaios (Kārūn), they established a fluvial route between Susa and the Persian Gulf. The victory of Antiochus III in the Far East (pp. 6, 187–8) re-opened the bazaars of India to Seleucid merchants, and he undertook a military expedition against the Gerrhaens of the Arabian coast in order to divert the spice trade to Seleucia on the Tigris and to Susa.<sup>3</sup>

Coin hoards give some indication of the pattern of commerce.<sup>4</sup> It seems that Iran formed a comparatively closed and somewhat

<sup>1</sup> J. & L. Robert, "Bulletin épigraphique, no. 651", *Revue des études grecques* LXXX (1967), pp. 556–8; cf. Polybius x. 27. 3.

<sup>2</sup> V. Minorsky, "A Greek Crossing on the Oxus", *BSOAS* xxx (1967), p. 45; Le Rider, *Suse*, p. 267; cf. Rostovtzeff II, p. 1433.

<sup>3</sup> Rostovtzeff I, p. 458; Le Rider, *Suse*, pp. 267ff. Seleucid coins were imitated in Southern Arabia; A. A. Houghton and G. Le Rider, "Un trésor des monnaies hellénistiques trouvé près de Suse", *RN* VI<sup>e</sup> s. VIII (1966), p. 121.

<sup>4</sup> On circulation of coins in Iran, besides Le Rider, cf. H. J. Troxell and W. F. Spengler, "A hoard of early Greek coins from Afghanistan", *ANSMN* xv (1969), pp. 1–19; H. Seyrig, "Monnaies grecques des fouilles de Doura et d'Antioche", *RN* VI<sup>e</sup> s. I (1958), p. 179; E. Schoenert, "Die wirtschaftliche Auswertung seleukidischer und ptolemaeischen Münzfunde (306–197 v.u.Z.)" in E. C. Welskopf (ed.), *Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte der alten Welt* I (Berlin, 1964), pp. 355–61 (Deutsche Historiker-Gesellschaft). Mørkholm, "A Greek coin hoard from Susiana", p. 146.

## THE SELEUCID PERIOD

backward economic region. Silver struck in Iran circulated freely within Iran. This is true even of the coins of the Greek kings of Bactria. But the Iranian pieces, particularly after Antiochus III, are rarely found in the west, while coins struck in Antioch, and from c. 180 B.C. onwards in Seleucia on the Tigris, dominated the market in Susa. It seems that merchandise travelled in stages. Spices of Arabia and India came to Susa, and, on the other hand, western merchandise was carried to Susa or Ecbatana by traders from Antioch or Seleucia on the Tigris. It is noteworthy that silver of Tyre which is abundant in Upper Mesopotamia (Dura-Europos) does not appear in Susa, as if the merchants of Syria divided the Iranian markets between themselves. It is also noteworthy that Seleucid coins apparently did not circulate in Central Asia. On the other hand, the importance of Indian trade is illustrated by the fact that until c. 280 B.C. the mint of Bactria issued coins on the "Indian" standard, that is tetradrachm of c. 12 gr.

## THE GREEK IRAN AND THE IRANIAN IRAN

Greek settlers in Iran wanted to remain Greeks. Alexander's colonists demanded "A Greek education and a Greek way of life" in Iran and after Alexander's death some of them began to return home, since they felt deprived of Greek civilization.<sup>1</sup> Thus, a school, a sports centre (*gymnasion*) and a theatre were built on the Oxus and Greek athletic games were held on Bahrain island in the Persian Gulf.<sup>2</sup> The Delphic maxims were inscribed on the walls of the funerary monuments of the Thessalian founder of a Greek settlement on the present Afghan-Soviet frontier.<sup>3</sup> Yet, the Greek settlements and cities were only islands in the Iranian sea, where the Greek language was hardly known and Greek mores were alien and probably distasteful. In fact, two worlds, the Greek and Iranian, co-existed in Seleucid Iran.

Of course, the Greeks exploited the land; in a small Greek city on the Oxus there were buildings of a size unheard of in Greece, except for temples. For instance a court of about 137 metres by 108 metres was framed by 116 columns.<sup>4</sup> But for the tax-payer it was unimportant whether his money was spent on a Seleucid or on an Achaemenian colonnade. What counted was that the money was spent in Iran and

<sup>1</sup> Diodorus XVIII. 7. 1.

<sup>2</sup> P. Bernard, "Fouilles de Ai Khanum", *CRAI* 1976, p. 318.

<sup>3</sup> L. Robert, "Inscriptions grecques nouvelles de la Bactriane", *CRAI* 1968, pp. 416-57.

<sup>4</sup> Bernard, *Ai Khanoum*, p. 117.

not in some distant mother country of the conquerors. In this way the greater part of the exacted sum returned to the Iranians in the form of salaries, payments for materials, etc. On the other hand the kings did not try to hellenize their Iranian subjects. The Seleucids lacked the Christian zeal of converting the infidels to the sole true faith or to decent plumbing. The Seleucid kings left people as they had been before the Macedonian conquest; busy with wars and other pressing matters, they had no time and no means, even if they had had the inclination, to meddle in the daily life of their subjects in remote Iran. A royal order issued in western Asia Minor took some fifty days to reach the authorities in Media.<sup>1</sup> Edmund Burke said that distance must weaken authority; 'the Seleucids learned by experience that this was the "immutable condition" of their extensive and far-flung empire'.

The countryside of Seleucid Iran was left to the Iranians. The village was a fiscal and economic unit, but its life remains virtually unknown. A Greek observer in 210 B.C. notes the importance of underground irrigation canals (*qanāts*).<sup>2</sup> We do not know whether the Seleucids ever thought of spreading the use of this ingenious device, or otherwise tried to improve the agricultural technology as the Lagids did in Egypt.<sup>3</sup> The chieftains of tribes and the khans continued to rule over their men and villages and exploited the peasant as they did before and after the Seleucids. The potentates at Stakhr, near Persepolis, could strike their own silver coins with legends in Aramaic and the fire altar on the reverse.<sup>4</sup> Country people spoke in their Iranian dialects, or even in Elamite, and the scribes, as under the Achaemenians, recorded transactions in Aramaic. As long as peace reigned, so that the roads were reasonably secure, and the taxes were collected, the Seleucids did not intervene in local matters. The tax collector was probably the main

<sup>1</sup> L. Robert, "Encore une inscription grecque de l'Iran", *CRAI* 1967, p. 290; cf. Strabo xi. 7. 2 (C509).

<sup>2</sup> Polybius x. 28. 2; cf. F. W. Wallbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* II (Oxford, 1968), *ad loc.*; O. Bucci, "Note di politica agraria Achemenide: A proposito del passo x. 28. 3 in Polibio", in *Studi in Memoria di Guido Donzati* (Milan, 1973), pp. 181-90.

<sup>3</sup> See the studies of P. Briant, "Contrainte militaire, dépendance rurale et exploitation des territoires en Asie achéménide", *Index* VIII (Univ. of Camerioni, 1978-79), pp. 48-98; "Colonisation hellénistique et populations indigènes", *Klio* LX (1978), pp. 57-95; "Brigandage, dissidence et conquête en asie achéménide et hellénistique", *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* II: *Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon* CLXXXVIII (Paris, 1976), pp. 163-258; "Villages et communautés villageoises d'Asie achéménide et hellénistique", *JESHO* XVIII (1975), pp. 175-88.

<sup>4</sup> Strabo xv. 3. 24 (C736); P. Naster, "Note d'épigraphie monétaire de Perside", *IA* VIII (1968), pp. 74-80; D. Stronach, "The Kūh-i-Shahrak Fire Altar", *JNES* xxv (1966), pp. 217-27; K. Schippmann, *Die iranischen Feuerheiligtümer* (Berlin, 1971), pp. 227-33.

link between the Greek and the Iranian Iran. This "salutary neglect", to quote Burke again, eliminated the most serious and the most frequent cause of friction between an alien ruler and an indigenous population. Keeping aloof, the Iranians did not need to resent the invaders. They were able to ignore them, and as an ancient historian notes, passively accepted the succession of their Macedonian overlords.<sup>1</sup>

The Greek and the Iranian Iran also more or less ignored one another in cultural matters. Being polytheists, the Greeks respected the local gods; Nanaia continued to be worshipped in Susa-Seleucia, just as an Iranian from Bactria coming to Delos made offerings to Apollo.<sup>2</sup> It is true that in times of financial stress the Seleucids sometimes plundered Oriental temples, but it was Mithridates I of Parthia who sacked the main sanctuaries of the Elymais.<sup>3</sup> As to private cults, nobody was impeded if he wanted to worship some exotic deity, be it Sarapis from Alexandria or the Cappadocian goddess Ma.<sup>4</sup> The Greeks still clung to their ancestral gods; they worshipped them even in Persepolis.<sup>5</sup> Greek colonists from Magnesia on the Meander in western Asia Minor brought their (originally Thessalian) gods to Antioch on the Persian Gulf (now Bushire).<sup>6</sup> Likewise, Greek colonists gave Greek names to Iranian rivers and mountains. The Oriental settlers generally erected a new structure on the ruins of the old building; Greek settlements were built anew. Even on a small island off the Arabian coast (Ikaros, now Failaka), first a military post, then a tiny Greek colony was planted by the Seleucids.<sup>7</sup>

The Iranians did not succumb to the charm of Greek gods. Syncretism was no more than verbal. Herakles was popular among the Greeks, and the Iranians began to represent their hero Verethraghna with Herakles' attributes, just as the Buddhists borrowed the type of Apollo for images of the Buddha.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Justin xli. 4. 5; cf. Strabo xi. 9. 2 (C515).

<sup>2</sup> Le Rider, *Suse*, p. 292; Rostovtzeff III, p. 1492.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo xvi. 1. 18 (C744).

<sup>4</sup> Robert, "Inscription hellénistique de l'Iran", p. 85; Le Rider, *loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> Robert, "Encore une inscription grecque de l'Iran", p. 282.

<sup>6</sup> L. Robert, "Inscriptions séleucides de Phrygie et d'Iran", *Hellenica* vii (1949), p. 19; L. Robert, "Les inscriptions" in J. des Gagniers (et al.), *Fouilles, Laodicée du Lycos: Le Nymphée Campagnes 1961-1963* (Quebec-Paris, 1969), p. 330 (Université Laval Recherches archéologiques, Série 1). Cf. also e.g. M. N. Tod, "A Greek inscription from the Persian Gulf", *JHS* lxxiii (1943), p. 112; Lukonin, *Persia II*, pls. 22, 23 (statuettes from Laodicea/Nihāvand).

<sup>7</sup> On the "inhabitants of Ikarion", cf. K. Jeppesen, "Et kongebud til Ikaros", *Kuml* 1960, pp. 153-93.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. A. D. H. Bivar and S. Shaked, "The Inscriptions at Shīmbār", *BSOAS* xxvii (1964), pl. 11; R. Ghirshman, "Bard-è Nechandeh, Centre religieux iranien", *AArchASH*

Similarly, the two law systems remained separate. The Greeks of Susa published their acts of manumission on the walls of the temple of Nanaia, but these documents were written in Greek and according to Greek legal ideas. Law went with the language of the deed. Under the Parthian kings in Kurdistan, a transaction between two Iranian parties, written in Greek in 44–5 A.D. follows the Greek law. A transaction of 53–4 A.D., concerning the same vineyard, but recorded in Parthian Aramaic, is formulated according to a law system which is not Greek.<sup>1</sup> We may guess that under the Seleucids, the countryside of Iran continued to live according to its own traditional and customary law, including the administration of justice, in civil litigations at least.

Greek art was much appreciated by the Iranian aristocracy, which even accepted male nudity in sculpture,<sup>2</sup> but the potters of Hellenistic Marv did not follow Greek models.<sup>3</sup> A vogue of Greek eroticism led to fabrication of terracotta figurines of naked women, but the mode disappeared in the Parthian age. On the other hand, the image of the Great Mother of the gods on a silver plaque from a Greek colony on the Oxus, though “orientalized”, owes nothing to the Iranian tradition. Yet, Greek and native craftsmen often worked together on the same project and often exchanged technological experience and artistic motifs. For instance, antefixes of Oriental style are used on the monument of Kineas, the founder of a Greek city on the Oxus,<sup>4</sup> and the disposition of Persian palaces reappears in buildings of the same city.<sup>5</sup>

How, then, may we explain the “hellenization” of the East? As a matter of fact, the modern idea of hellenization is anachronistic. It has two sources: first, pro-Macedonian propaganda in Greece before Alexander assured the listeners that the “barbarians” would be only

xix (1967), pp. 3–14; G. A. Pugachenkova, “O kultach Baktrii v svete archeologii”, *VDI* 1974. 3, pp. 124–35; *Id.* “Kult Gerakla v Baktrii”, *VDI* 1977. 2, pp. 112–20.

<sup>1</sup> H. S. Nyberg, “The Pahlavi documents from Avroman”, *Le Monde Oriental* xvii (Paris, 1923), pp. 182–230; a new (Russian) translation of the text by Perikhanian, “Agnatic groups”, p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> G. A. Pugachenkova, *Skulptura Khalchayana* (Tashkent, 1966), pp. 147, 150, 226; R. D. Barnett, “The art of Bactria and the treasure of the Oxus”, *IA* viii (1968), p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> G. A. Koshelenko, *Kultura Partfi* (Moscow, 1966), p. 72; on the other hand, the pottery of Samarkand is said to reveal Hellenistic influence; see S. K. Kabanov, “À l’étude de la stratigraphie de l’oppidum medieval Afrasiyab”, *Sovetskaya Arkeologiya* i (Moscow, 1969), pp. 189–91.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Pugachenkova, *op. cit.* (no. 44a), pp. 218–21; Koshelenko, *op. cit.*, p. 90; P. Bernard, “Campagne de fouilles à Ai Khanoum 1969”, *CRAI* 1970, pp. 339–47; *Id.* “Sièges et lits en ivoire”, *Syria* XLVII (1970), p. 328; *Id.*, *Fouille d’Ai Khanoum I*, pp. 93, 118; cf. D. Schlumberger, *L’Orient Hellénisé* (Paris, 1970), pp. 21–32.

<sup>5</sup> Bernard, *Ai Khanoum*, p. 118; *Id.*, “Fouilles de Ai Khanoum” (*CRAI* 1974), p. 286.

too happy to exchange their Oriental despotism for Greek management,<sup>1</sup> and the experience of modern colonization. But as we have already observed the empire of the Seleucids was no "colonial" power.

In fact, the contrast between the "Greek" man and the "Oriental" man belongs to professorial mythology. The Greek influence was only one of several spiritual forces acting simultaneously on the Iranians. Under the Achaemenians, the Persians were certainly influenced by Greek art, yet the Achaemenian tower temples go back to the Urartian prototypes.<sup>2</sup> We know nothing about the influence of Babylonian civilization on the Iranians in the Greek period. Yet there certainly were cultural contacts; the sacrificial rules of Uruk, once carried to Elam, were discovered under the Seleucids in Susa or near Susa, and copied for the temple of Uruk.<sup>3</sup>

How complex the interplay of influences was can be illustrated by the history of alphabets. From the Achaemenian period on, Aramaic was the language of Persian scribes. As late as the 4th century A.D. they remained learned in both Aramaic and Persian.<sup>4</sup> When the Seleucids ruled Iran, the Indian king Aśoka published the Buddhist message both in Greek and Aramaic and engraved it on stones near Qandahār.<sup>5</sup> The Aramaic script was borrowed for numerous Iranian dialects from Persian to Khwārazmian.<sup>6</sup> Yet, in Bactria not only the Bactrians themselves but also the later invaders of the country, the Tukhārians and the Kushāns, used the Greek alphabet for their languages. Again, the legends of Parthian coins until the middle of the 1st century A.D. were only in Greek.

Further, we must remember the Persian diaspora in Greek Asia Minor and in such half-Greek countries as Cappadocia. Names like Arsaces son of Artemidoros, the liturgy in Persian, and the Greek dedication (in eastern Caria) to the gods "of the Persians and of the Hellenes" suggest both hellenization and the adherence to the faith of

<sup>1</sup> Isocrates v. 154.

<sup>2</sup> D. Sronach, "Urartian and Achaemenian tower temples", *JNES* xxvi (1967), pp. 278-88.

<sup>3</sup> J. B. Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton, N.J., 1950), p. 345.

<sup>4</sup> Epiphanius, *Adversus haereses*, 66. 13; cf. M. Sznycer, "Les inscriptions araméennes de Tang-i Butan", *JA* 1965, pp. 1-9.

<sup>5</sup> J. & L. Robert, "Bulletin épigraphique no. 421", *Revue des études grecques* LXXIII (Paris, 1960), pp. 204-5; "Bull. épig. no. 295", *ibid.* LXVII (1963), pp. 185-6; "Bull. épig. no. 442", *ibid.* LXVIII (1965), pp. 179-80.

<sup>6</sup> V. A. Livshitz, "The Khwarezmian calendar and the eras in ancient Chorasmia", *AntASH* xvi (1968), pp. 413-46.



the fathers.<sup>1</sup> This Persian diaspora transmitted to the Greeks the Zoroastrian tradition (and the legends about Zoroaster) and the religion of the Magi. We can imagine that the same diaspora also transmitted Greek manners to Iran.<sup>2</sup>

Unlike Oriental civilizations, Greek civilization was neither sacerdotal nor tribal. The Greeks were no racists, and everybody was free to choose the Greek way of life. When Alexander founded his military colonies on the Syr Darya, he enrolled Iranians among the settlers. Antiochus I transferred Babylonians to "the royal city" of Seleucia on the Tigris. Some noble families from Stakhr were settled by Seleucus I in Karka (Upper Mesopotamia).<sup>3</sup> Further, the Greek polis invented naturalization. An alien could not be made Persian, but a Persian could become a citizen of a Greek polis. Naturalized, he would have to pay homage to the gods of the city, but he was not expected to abandon his ancestral gods. The conversion required was to the Greek language and the Greek way of life. As Plutarch tells us, children of the "barbarians" in Gedrosia (Balūchistān) learned to read Homer. (Some verses of Euripides were engraved in the Seleucid period on a rock near Armavir, in Armenia.)<sup>4</sup> They and their fathers had also to exercise naked in the gymnasium, an abomination to the Orientals (and to the Romans). A man who went through this initiation rite either was or became alienated to his native environment. He became Greek not only in his language but in his soul.

Thus, Greek society was an open and changing society. There was no hereditary nobility of big landowners as in Iranian Iran. The Seleucids, did not have dynasties of viziers, like the Barmakids of Baghdad. This open society was governed by the spirit of adventure and greed. It believed that all that is held in honour and admiration among men is achieved by toil and venture, experience and intelligence.<sup>5</sup> This society of adventure was open to the Iranians if they were ready to become Greek; they could become citizens of a Greek polis in Iran,

<sup>1</sup> [On the spread of Magian traditions and ideas see pp. 100ff. and 826ff.]

<sup>2</sup> L. Robert, *La Carie II* (Paris, 1954), p. 79; *Id.* in *Laodicée du Lycos*, pp. 300, 308, 333.

<sup>3</sup> V. A. Tcherikover, *Die hellenistischen Stadtgründungen von Alexander dem Grossen bis auf die Römerzeit* (Leipzig, 1927), pp. 190ff. (Philologus, Supplementband XIX. 1); W. W. Tarn and G. T. Griffith, *Hellenistic Civilization*, 3rd ed. (London, 1952), pp. 159ff.; N. V. Pigulevskaya, *Goroda Irana* (Moscow, 1956), p. 43.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch, *de fort. Alex.* 3; J. & L. Robert, "Bulletin épigraphique no. 176", *Revue des études grecques* LXV (Paris, 1952), pp. 181-5; G. P. Carratelli, "Greek Inscriptions of the Middle East", *East and West* XVI (1966), p. 34.

<sup>5</sup> Diodorus XIX. 90. 3; cf. E. J. Bickerman, *Four Strange Books of the Bible* (New York, 1967), pp. 158ff.

## THE SELEUCID PERIOD

or even generals in the Seleucid army. Herodotus observes that of all men the Persians were the readiest to adopt foreign customs.<sup>1</sup>

In this manner, without planning it, the Greeks decapitated the native nationalism. It is not the rajahs, but the young dreamers of dreams who overthrow the empires "with prophesying to the old of the new world's worth". These ambitious dreamers found this new world in the Greek city, in Seleucid service, or in Greek literature. Alexander's Romance was a more potent factor of hellenization than Homer.

Thus, the real hellenization of Iran began only after the end of the Seleucids; when the Iranian rulers, beginning with Mithridates I of Parthia, the "Philhellene", as he called himself, needed bright men of Greek education to manage the Seleucid inheritance. The Iranian elite, men who could enjoy the presentation of Euripides' *Bacchae* at the Parthian court, were no longer swallowed by the Greek polis, but remained Iranian, and trusted Ahuramazda again, and not Apollo. The Iranians became really hellenized when they believed that Greek wisdom was originally their own, borrowed by the Greeks from their ancestors after Alexander's conquest of Persia.<sup>2</sup> Historical myth is sometimes more philosophical than historical facts.<sup>3</sup>

### APPENDIX

#### CHRONOLOGY OF THE SELEUCID DYNASTY

Seleucus I. 312–281 B.C.

312. Seleucus seizes Babylon. The (ante-dated) beginning of the Seleucid era.

312–305. Seleucus establishes his rule in Babylonia and Iran.

311. The (ante-dated) beginning of the Seleucid era, according to the Babylonian reckoning.

305. Seleucus, Ptolemy I of Egypt, and other Macedonian war lords assume royal title.

c. 305. Foundation of Seleucia on the Tigris.

c. 305–303. Seleucus conquers the Far East of Iran. Peace and amity with the Indian king.

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus I. 135.

<sup>2</sup> A. Abel, "La figure d'Alexandre en Iran" in *La Persia*, p. 123; similarly, the Jews regarded Solomon as the source of Greek wisdom; G. Vajda, "Le prologue de Qirsani" in *In memoriam Paul Kahle*, p. 225. Cf. p. 475 below.

<sup>3</sup> [For some details of Seleucid history see also ch. 2, pp. 32ff. and ch. 5, pp. 185ff.; for the development of religious thought in Seleucid Iran see ch. 22, pp. 821ff.; for the administration of the polis and the royal authority and titles of Seleucid kings see ch. 19, pp. 709ff. Ed.]

## APPENDIX

301 (summer). Seleucus and Lysimachus defeat Antigonus at Ipsus. Ptolemy I of Egypt seizes Phoenicia and Palestine.

300. Foundation of Antioch on the Orontes.

292. Antiochus (I), Seleucus' son, co-regent and viceroy of Mesopotamia and Iran.

281. Seleucus defeats Lysimachus and acquires Asia Minor.

281 (September). Seleucus I murdered.

Antiochus I. 281–261

280–279. War between Antiochus I and Ptolemy II of Egypt.

278. The Celts, coming from Macedonia, overrun Asia Minor.

275. Antiochus' victory over the Celts. Formation of Celtic state in Galatia.

274–271. War between Antiochus I and Ptolemy II.

261 (2 June) death of Antiochus I.

Antiochus II, son of Antiochus I. 261–246

260–253. War between Ptolemy II and Antiochus II, allied with Macedonia.

c. 260. The Persian Ariarathes founder of the Cappadocian kingdom.

252. Antiochus II marries Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy and sister of Ptolemy III, having divorced Laodice.

c. 250. The Parni, founders of the Parthian monarchy, in Bactria.

248/7. The (ante-dated) beginning of the Parthian (Arsacid) era.

246. Death of Antiochus II. Accession of Ptolemy III. Civil war between Laodice and Berenice. Egyptian intervention. Secession of Diodotus of Bactria.

Seleucus II, son of Antiochus II and Laodice. 246–225

245. Ptolemy III conquers Syria and Mesopotamia, and abandons these lands because of troubles in Egypt.

241. Peace between Ptolemy III and Seleucus II.

240. War between Seleucus II and Antiochus Hierax, his brother and viceroy in Asia Minor.

239. Defeat of Seleucus II.

238. Antiochus Hierax defeated by Attalus I of Pergamum. Attalus proclaimed king. Parthia invaded by the Parni.

237. Peace between Seleucus II and Antiochus Hierax.

c. 231. Seleucus' expedition against the Parthians.

230. War between Attalus I of Pergamum and Antiochus Hierax.

228. Defeat and end of Antiochus Hierax. The expansion of Pergamum in Asia Minor.

Seleucus III, son of Seleucus II. 226–223

Antiochus III, son of Seleucus II. 223–187

221–217. War between Antiochus III and Ptolemy IV.

220. Antiochus III defeats Molon, the rebellious viceroy of Mesopotamia and Iran.

217 (26 June). Ptolemy III defeats Antiochus III at Eaphia.

216–13. Conflict between Antiochus III and Achaeus, his viceroy in Asia Minor.

## THE SELEUCID PERIOD

- 212–205. Antiochus III reconquers Far East.
- 200–198. Antiochus III against Ptolemy V. Conquest of Phoenicia and Palestine.
- 192–188. Antiochus III against Rome.
- 189. Antiochus defeated.
- 188. Peace with Rome. Antiochus loses Asia Minor.
- Seleucus IV, son of Antiochus III. 187–175
- Antiochus IV, brother of Seleucus IV. 175–164(?)
  - c. 170. Mithridates I of Parthia. Parthian expansion in Iran.
  - 169–8. War between Antiochus IV and the Ptolemies. Antiochus conquers Egypt and abandons it on Rome's order.
  - 167–164. Persecution and revolt in Judaea.
  - 165–4. Antiochus' campaign in the East.
- Antiochus V, son of Antiochus IV. 164(?)–162
- Demetrius I, brother of Antiochus IV. 162–150
  - 162. Demetrius seizes the throne. Revolt of Timarchus, the viceroy of Iran.
  - 161. Defeat of Timarchus.
  - 152. Beginning of the Maccabean State.
- Alexander Balas, allegedly a son of Antiochus IV. 150–145
  - 150. Balas, supported by Egypt, defeats Demetrius I. Egyptian influence in Syria.
- Antiochus VI, Balas' son. 145–143/2
- Demetrius II, son of Demetrius I. 145–139/8
  - 145. War between Antiochus VI, supported by general Tryphon, and Demetrius II, supported by Egypt.
  - 143/2–138. Tryphon against Demetrius II.
  - 141. Parthians in Mesopotamia.
  - 140–39. Demetrius II campaigns against the Parthians.
- Antiochus VII, brother of Demetrius II. 139/8–129
  - 130–29. Antiochus' VII's campaigns against the Parthians.
- End of Seleucid rule in Iran.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

The abbreviations used in the bibliographies and footnotes are listed below.

<i>AA</i>	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i> (Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts) (Berlin)
<i>AAWG</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen</i> (Phil. Hist. Klasse) (Göttingen)
<i>AAntASH</i>	<i>Acta antiqua academiae scientiarum Hungaricae</i> (Budapest)
<i>AArchASH</i>	<i>Acta archaeologica academiae scientiarum Hungaricae</i> (Budapest)
<i>AB</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> (Brussels)
<i>Acta Iranica</i>	<i>Acta Iranica</i> (encyclopédie permanente des études iraniennes) (Tehran-Liège-Leiden)
<i>Aevum</i>	<i>Aevum</i> (Rassegna di Scienze Storiche Linguistiche e Filologiche) (Milan)
<i>AGWG</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der (königlichen) Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen</i> (Berlin)
<i>AI</i>	<i>Ars Islamica</i> = <i>Ars Orientalis</i> (Ann Arbor, Mich.)
<i>AION</i>	<i>Annali: Istituto Orientale di Napoli</i> (s.l. sezione linguistica; n.s. new series) (Naples)
<i>AJSLL</i>	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature</i> (Chicago)
<i>AKM</i>	<i>Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i> (Leipzig)
<i>AMI</i>	<i>Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran</i> (old series 9 vols 1929-38; new series 1968-) (Berlin)
<i>Anatolia</i>	<i>Anatolia</i> (revue annuelle d'archéologie) (Ankara)
<i>ANS</i>	American Numismatic Society
<i>ANSMN</i>	<i>American Numismatic Society Museum Notes</i> (New York)
<i>ANSNM</i>	American Numismatic Society Numismatic Notes and Monographs (New York)
<i>ANSNS</i>	American Numismatic Society Numismatic Studies (New York)
<i>Antiquity</i>	<i>Antiquity</i> (a periodical review of archaeology edited by Glyn Daniel) (Cambridge)
<i>AO</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia</i> (ediderunt Societates Orientales Batava Danica Norvegica Svedica) (Copenhagen)
<i>AOAW</i>	<i>Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> (Phil. Hist. Klasse) (Vienna)
<i>AOH</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i> (Budapest)
<i>APAW</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der Preussischen (Deutschen) Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> (Phil. Hist. Klasse) (Berlin)
<i>Apollo</i>	<i>Apollo</i> (The magazine of the arts) (London)
<i>ArOr</i>	<i>Archiv Orientalní</i> (Quarterly Journal of African, Asian and Latin American Studies) (Prague)
<i>Artibus Asiae</i>	<i>Artibus Asiae</i> (Institute of Fine Arts, New York University) (Dresden, Ascona)

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- ASIR* *Archaeological Survey of India*. Reports made during the years 1862- by Alexander Cunningham, 23 vols. Simla-Calcutta, 1871-87.
- BASOR* *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (Baltimore, Maryland)
- BCH* *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* (Athens-Paris)
- BCMA* *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* (Cleveland, Ohio)
- BEFEO* *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient* (Hanoi-Paris)
- Berytus* *Berytus* (archaeological studies published by the Museum of Archaeology and the American University of Beirut) (Copenhagen)
- BMQ* *British Museum Quarterly* (London)
- BSO(A)S* *Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies* (University of London)
- Byzantion* *Byzantion* (Revue Internationale des Études Byzantines) (Brussels)
- CAH* *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 12 vols; 1st edition 1924-39 (Cambridge) (Revised edition 1970-)
- Caucasica* *Caucasica* (Zeitschrift für die Erforschung der Sprachen und Kulturen des Kaukasus und Armeniens) 10 fascs (Leipzig, 1924-34)
- CII* *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* (Oxford)
- CIIr* *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum* (London)
- CRAI* *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres* (Paris)
- CSCO* *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* (Paris, Louvain)
- CSEL* *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (Vienna)
- DOAW* *Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Phil. Hist. Klasse) (Vienna)
- East and West* *East and West* (Quarterly published by the Instituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Orient) (Rome)
- EI* *Epigraphia Indica* (Calcutta)
- Eos* *Eos* (Commentarii Societatis Philologiae Polonorum) (Bratislava-Warsaw)
- EPRO* *Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain* (Leiden)
- Eranos* *Eranos* (Acta Philologica Suecana) (Uppsala)
- ERE* *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. James Hastings, 13 vols (Edinburgh, 1908-21)
- GCS* *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte* (Leipzig, Berlin)
- Georgica* *Georgica* (a journal of Georgian and Caucasian studies) nos. 1-5 (London, 1935-7)
- GJ* *The Geographical Journal* (London)



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- Hellenica* *Hellenica* (recueil d'épigraphie de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques) (Paris)
- Historia* *Historia* (Journal of Ancient History) (Wiesbaden)
- HJAS* *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (Cambridge, Mass.)
- HO* *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, ed. B. Spuler (Leiden-Cologne)
- HOS* *Harvard Oriental Series* (Cambridge, Mass.)
- IA* *Iranica Antiqua* (Leiden)
- IJJ* *Indo-Iranian Journal* (The Hague)
- IndAnt* *The Indian Antiquary*, 62 vols (Bombay, 1872-1933)
- Iran* *Iran* (journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies) (London-Tehran)
- Iraq* *Iraq* (journal of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq) (London)
- JA* *Journal Asiatique* (Paris)
- JAOS* *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (New York)
- JASB* *Journal (and proceedings) of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Calcutta)
- JASBB* *Journal of the Asiatic Society Bombay Branch* (Bombay)
- JCOI* *Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute*, 29 vols (Bombay, 1922-35)
- JCS* *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* (New Haven, Conn.)
- JESHO* *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* (Leiden)
- JHS* *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (London)
- JMBRAS* *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Singapore)
- JNES* *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* (Chicago)
- JNSI* *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* (Bombay)
- JRAS* *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London)
- JRS* *The Journal of Roman Studies* (London)
- Kairos* *Kairos* (Zeitschrift für Religionswissenschaft und Theologie) (Salzburg)
- Klio* *Klio* (Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte) (Berlin)
- Kuml* *Kuml* (Aarbog for Jysk Arkæologisk Selskab) (Aarhus)
- KSIIIMK* *Kratkie soobshcheniya o dokladakh i polevykh issledovaniyakh Instituta istorii materialnoi kultury AN SSR* (Moscow)
- KZ* *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, begründet von Adalbert Kuhn (Göttingen)
- LCL* Loeb Classical Library
- MDAFA* *Mémoires de la délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan* (Paris)
- Mesopotamia* *Mesopotamia* (Rivista di Archeologia, Facoltà di Lettere e filosofia) (University of Turin)
- MMAB* *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* (old series 1905-42; new series 1942-) (New York)

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- Le Muséon *Le Muséon* (Revue d'Études Orientales) (Louvain-Paris)
- Museum *Museum* (art magazine edited by the Tokyo National Museum) (Tokyo)
- NC *Numismatic Chronicle* (London)
- NGWG *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* (Göttingen)
- Numismatica *Numismatica* (Rome)
- OLZ *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* (Berlin-Leipzig)
- Oriens *Oriens* (journal of the International Society for Oriental Research) (Leiden)
- Orientalia *Orientalia* (a quarterly published by the Faculty of Ancient Oriental Studies, Pontifical Biblical Institute) new series (Rome)
- Pauly *Pauly, A. Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (ed. G. Wissowa) (Stuttgart, 1894-)
- PBA *Proceedings of the British Academy* (London)
- Philologus *Philologus* (Zeitschrift für das klassische Altertum) (Stolberg, etc., now Berlin)
- PO *Patrologia Orientalis* (ed. R. Gaffin and F. Nau) (Paris)
- RAA *Revue des arts asiatiques* (Paris)
- RAC *Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum* (ed. T. Klauser) (Stuttgart, 1950-)
- REA *Revue des études arméniennes, nouvelle série* (Paris)
- Religion *Religion* (A Journal of Religion and Religions) (Newcastle upon Tyne)
- RGG *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd ed., 6 vols (Tübingen, 1927-32); 3rd ed., 7 vols (Tübingen, 1957-65)
- RHR *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* (Paris)
- RIN *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica e Scienze Affini* (Milan)
- RN *Revue Numismatique* (Paris)
- RSO *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* (Rome)
- Saeculum *Saeculum* (Jahrbuch für Universalgeschichte) (Freiburg-Munich)
- SBE *Sacred Books of the East* (Oxford)
- SCBO *Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis* (Oxford)
- Semitica *Semitica* (Cahiers publiés par l'Institut d'Études Sémitiques de l'Université de Paris) (Paris)
- SHAW *Sitzungsberichte der heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Phil. Hist. Klasse) (Heidelberg)
- SPA *A Survey of Persian Art*, ed. A. U. Pope and P. Ackerman, 6 vols (Text pp. 1-2817) (Oxford-London-New York, 1938-39); repr. 12 vols (Tokyo, 1964-65); no vol. XIII; vol. XIV *New Studies 1938-1960* (Text pp. 2879-3205) (Oxford-London, 1967); vol. XV *Bibliography of Pre-Islamic Persian Art to 1938* (cols 1-340), Reprint of *Index to Text Volumes I-III (i-vi)*

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- SPAW* *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen (Deutschen) Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Phil. Hist. Klasse) (Berlin)
- StIr* *Studia Iranica* (Leiden)
- Sumer* *Sumer* (journal of archaeology and history in Iraq) (Baghdad)
- SWAW* *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener (Österreichischen) Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Phil. Hist. Klasse) (Vienna)
- Syria* *Syria* (Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie) (Paris)
- TITAKE* *Trudi Iuzhno-Turkmenistanskoi Archeologicheskoi Kimpleknoi Ekspeditsii*, 6 vols (Moscow, 1949-58)
- TM* *Travaux et mémoires* (Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance) (Paris)
- T'oung Pao* *T'oung Pao* (Archives concernant l'histoire, les langues, la géographie, l'ethnographie et les arts de l'Asie orientale) (Leiden)
- TPS* *Transactions of the Philological Society* (London)
- VDI* *Vestnik drevnei istorii* (Moscow)
- WVDOG* *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* (Leipzig)
- WZKM* *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (Vienna)
- YCS* *Yale Classical Studies* (New Haven, Conn.)
- ZA* *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* (Berlin)
- ZDMG* *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Wiesbaden)
- ZN* *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* (Berlin)

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## CHAPTER I

### I. Sources

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### 3. *Seleucid Iran*

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